

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TEL AV 01588 031638Z

70

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 /075 W

----- 107062

R 031542Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 445

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 1588

E.O. 11652: PFOR PINT IS XF

SUBJECT: LABOR ALIGNMENT FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

SUMMARY: AT LABOR ALIGNMENT MEETING MARCH 2, PRIMIN RABIN DEFENDED FEBRUARY 22 CABINET DECISION TO EXPLORE END-OF-THE-STATE-OF-WAR POSSIBILITIES. RABIN HELD THAT ISRAEL HAD NO OPTION BUT TO AGREE TO SUCH AN INITIATIVE. HE OFFERED NO DETAILS ON ISRAEL'S TERRITORIAL POSITION IF AND WHEN SUCH AN INITIATIVE IS EXPLORED. KEY LABOR MEMBERS YITZHAK NAVON AND AHARAON YARIV CRITICIZED THE MOVE, MAINTAINING THAT IT WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO ISRAEL GIVING UP THE GOAL OF FINAL PEACE. MAPAM REPRESENTATIVES EMPHASIZED THAT ISRAEL MUST OFFER AN OVERALL PEACE PLAN. END SUMMARY.

1. LABOR ALIGNMENT FORUM, CONSISTING OF LABOR AND MAPAM KNESSET FACTIONS AND LEADERSHIP BUREAUS, HELD ON MARCH 2 THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF FOREIGN POLICY DEBATES. PRIMIN RABIN OPENED THE EXCHANGE DEFENDING THE CABINET DECISION TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TEL AV 01588 031638Z

END-TO-THE-STATE-OF-WAR AGREEMENTS. THE MAIN THESIS OF

HIS LENGTHY STATEMENT WAS THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR ISRAEL TO CONDUCT A FLEXIBLE POLICY AIMED AT CREATING NEW CONDITIONS WHICH MAY EVENTUALLY BRING ABOUT A CHANGE OF POSITION AND ATTITUDE IN THE ARAB WORLD. RABIN SAID THAT ISRAEL COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE REFUSED TO EXAMINE THE PROSPECTS OF NEGOTIATING AN END-TO-THE-STATE-OF-WAR.

2. RABIN SAID THERE WAS NO DIFFICULTY IN REPEATING ISRAEL'S EXISTING POSITION ON A NON-BELLIGERENCY AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT. AS FOR SYRIA, ISRAEL COULD OFFER MORE THAN COSMETIC WITHDRAWALS ON THE GOLAN IN RETURN FOR SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT BUT WOULD NOT DESCEND FROM THE HEIGHTS, EVEN IN RETURN FOR FULL PEACE. REGARDING JORDAN, RABIN RECALLED HE HAD TOLD US LEADERS HE COULD SAY NOTHING BEFORE CONSULTING WITH HIS COLLEAGUES.

3. RABIN NOTED THAT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT HAD WEAKENED EGYPT'S MOTIVATION FOR WAR AND HAD CREATED A NEW REALITY, HAMPERING AN ARAB POLITICAL-MILITARY ALLIANCE ON THE PRE-1973 LINES. MOREOVER, IT HAD LEFT ISRAEL IN AN BETTER POSITION SHOULD ONE ARAB STATE CAUSE A DETERIORATION TOWARD WAR.

4. ON AMERICAN POLICY, RABIN NOTED THAT OFFICIAL AMERICAN POLICY REGARDING THE NATURE OF PEACE, AS WELL AS PEACE BORDERS, WAS FAR FROM MODERATE ISRAELI STANDS. THE US ALWAYS REFUSED TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL ON THESE POINTS AS LONG AS SUCH AGREEMENT WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS AS WELL, RABIN ADDED. ON GENEVA CONFERENCE PROSPECTS, RABIN SAID THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD NOT BE CONVENED WITHOUT MUTUAL AGREEMENT BY THE TWO CHAIRMEN, BUT THAT THE USSR HAS INSISTED ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO.

5. OPPOSITION TO THE END-OF-THE-STATE-OF-WAR APPROACH WAS VOICED BY SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS, NOTABLY INFLUENTIAL LABOR MKS YITZHAK NAVON, CHAIRMAN OF KNESSET FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE, AND AHARON CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TEL AV 01588 031638Z

YARIV, FORMER HEAD OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND MINISTER IN RABIN'S CABINET. NAVON OPPOSED THE PROPOSAL FOR END-TO-THE-STATE-OF-WAR AGREEMENTS UNLESS IT MEANT A RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. ISRAEL, NAVON SAID, MUST NOT GIVE UP ITS BASIC DEMAND FOR PEACE, FOR WHICH HE WOULD BE READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON ALL FRONTS. NAVON REITERATED HIS POSITION THAT A THIRD STATE FOR THE PALESTINIANS WAS OUT OF

THE QUESTION; FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES, HOWEVER, ISRAEL SHOULD DECLARE ITS READINESS TO TALK TO ANY PALESTINIANS WHO WOULD RECOGNIZE ISRAEL AND ACCEPT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. NAVON SURPRISED HIS AUDIENCE BY SAYING THAT HE HAD NEVER SUPPORTED ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ON THE GOLAN, BUT ONLY A MILITARY PRESENCE.

6. YARIV SHARPLY CRITICIZED THE NON-BELLIGERENCY IDEA. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST FIRST PRESENT A PEACE PLAN AND A PEACE MAP AND SHOULD GO TO THE POLLS WITH THEM. IN HIS VIEW, ONLY WITH SUCH A PLAN AND MAP SHOULD ISRAEL CONSIDER TALKING ABOUT AND END TO THE STATE OF WAR. YARIV SAW NO REASON TO RESORT TO END-OF-THE-STATE-OF-WAR WHILE "PEACE" WAS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED IN THE THREE AGREEMENTS ISRAEL HAS ALREADY SIGNED WITH EGYPT AND SYRIA.

7. MAPAM'S POSITION WAS PRESENTED BY ITS SECRETARY GENERAL MEIR TALMI. TALMI AGREED TO THE END-OF-THE-STATE-OF-WAR INITIATIVE, ALTHOUGH HE DOUBTED WHETHER IT REALLY HAD SUBSTANCE. IF WAR BROKE OUT IN A FEW MONTHS, HOWEVER, HE DID NOT WANT ISRAEL ACCUSED OF NOT HAVING TRIED THIS APPROACH. TALMI ATTACKED THE GOVERNMENT FOR NOT DRAFTING AN OVERALL PEACE PLAN WHICH WOULD CLARIFY TO THE WORLD ISRAEL'S POSITION AND ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF DRAGGING ITS FEET IN THE HOPE THAT THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WOULD BRING A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.
END UNCLASSIFIED

8. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. LABOR ALIGNMENT DEBATE PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR RABIN TO PRESENT TO A MAJOR PARTY FORUM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TEL AV 01588 031638Z

HIS VIEWS ON THE CABINET'S FEBRUARY 22 ACTION AND, JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, TO HEAR THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHO ARE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH HIM. NAVON HAS TOLD US THAT, IN HIS JUDGMENT, THE VALUE OF LAST NIGHT'S DEBATE WAS PRIMARILY THAT IT PROVIDED A CHANCE FOR LABOR PARTY MKS TO GET THEIR POINT OF VIEW ACROSS TO RABIN AND THAT THIS IN ITSELF WAS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF RESTORING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN HIM AND HIS BASE OF SUPPORT IN THE KNESSET. THERE WERE ONLY FOUR SPEAKERS, ALL FROM THE MODERATE SIDE OF THE LABOR ALIGNMENT, AND THE DEBATE IS SCHEDULED TO CONTINUE ON MARCH 8 WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL SESSIONS THEREAFTER.

9. DAVAR'S PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT DANNY BLOCH HAS TOLD US THAT THE MAIN FOCUS OF ATTENTION WAS NAVON'S

COMMENT TO MAPAM SECRETARY GENERAL TALMI THAT EVEN THE MAPAM PROGRAM OF FAR REACHING TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE WAS AN INSUFFICIENT BASIS FOR A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. NAVON SAID THAT PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES WOULD REQUIRE AN ISRAELI RETURN TO THE 1967 BORDERS, AND THAT SINCE MAPAM DID NOT ENVISAGE THIS IT SHOULD NOT DELUDE ITSELF INTO THINKING THAT IT HAD A REAL PEACE PROGRAM TO OFFER. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS TODAY, NAVON CLARIFIED THAT HE WAS NOT REPEAT NOT CALLING FOR ISRAEL TO COME OUT WITH AN INITIATIVE FOR A RETURN TO THE 1967 BORDERS SINCE HE DOUBTED WHETHER THE ARABS WERE READY FOR PEACE EVEN ON THAT BASIS AT THE PRESENT TIME. INSTEAD, HE WANTED TO CLARIFY TO THE LABOR ALIGNMENT THE KIND OF HARD DECISIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE FACED IF AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE REALLY DEVELOPED. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, HE FELT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER ITS POSITION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS FORMULATION WAS SHARED BY ONLY A VERY SMALL MINORITY OF THE LABOR PARTY (E.G., YITZHAK BEN-AHARON) AND THAT THE MAJORITY STILL BELIEVED IN THE PARTY PLATFORM'S ENDORSEMENT OF PEACE ON THE BASIS OF TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, PEACE PLANS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976TELAV01588
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DC ADJUSTED PER 76 TEL AVIV 2116
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760081-0813
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760397/aaaadidk.tel
Line Count: 190
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <27 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LABOR ALIGNMENT FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS, XF, (RABIN, YITZHAK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006